304 same time, it should be noted that because of his tattooing
465 mania some people considered him "as not quite normal." In true Negro fashion, the absence of a charge for tattooing is explained by saying that the tattooed person does not feel the pain so strongly if he does not have to pay. These conditions, however, vary greatly from place to place. Among the Jaunde payment is customary, and often it is comparatively steep.

304 Mutilation of the teeth occurs everywhere among members
825 of both sexes. It is done mainly to the four upper incisors. Aside from decorative considerations, this mutilation doubtless also has a deeper religious basis which is very ancient and still alive in the Negroes. They -- as I was once told -- do not want their teeth to look like animal teeth (2). Since it is indeed a fact that

[171]

2. See also the same attitude among the Malays and the Negroes of the Sudan (according to Frobenius).

no /202/ large mammals have pointed front teeth (for it is with these that we are concerned)(1), this reason seems credible even

[192]

1. See the expressions for tooth chipping below, in which the expression for tooth is always asŭń "front tooth." There is no word for teeth in general; on the other hand there are terms for canines, incisors of animals (fə̄ III), and molars (ekŏ́k).

though to us pointed teeth look precisely like animal teeth since when we think of the gaping jaw of an animal, the prominent incisors are the dominant feature. The Pangwe thinks first of the animal's front teeth, and, especially in the case of horned animals, he finds a surprising similarity to his own. In making this comparison, he is not disturbed by the fact that the similarity extends only to the front teeth of the lower jaw, which resemble the front teeth of his lower jaw, since ruminants usually have no

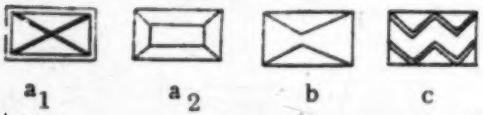

Fig. 209. Patterns on Stools.

a combination of the patterns of a diamond and a parallel line (Fig. 211, b), and this suggested a string of cowrie shells. The similarity of the two is shown by Figure 210. It seems possible to me that in this case a further relationship between the cowrie shell and the diamond pattern plays a role. The Togo Negroes, for instance (according to an oral communication from the missionary, C. Spiess), recognize in the cowrie shell an image of the vulva; since ancient times the diamond pattern has been viewed in the same way by the Pangwe. After the introduction of the cowrie shell, the Pangwe immediately recognized its similarity to the diamond and transferred to the former the symbolism of the latter. As in Togo, the cowrie shell is regarded among the Pangwe as a symbol that brings good fortune, and, as such, it is applied to medicine horns or hung on anchored nets as a hunting medicine. Another symbol that likewise /Fig. 210 appears here in the original text/ brings good luck is the diamond which they paint onto their skins with redwood (a color that brings luck!) or tattoo onto their skins as a permanent pattern. We find

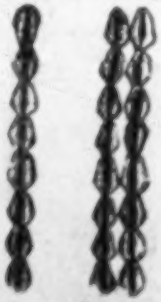

Fig. 210. Strings of Cowrie Shells.

here a remarkable contradiction in their conceptions. As we have seen, the sexual act was performed in connection

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
164 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
684 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible: :

[539] a bĕle, a bĕle, a kŏn abĕ mayŏk.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
831 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
461 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[834] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebŏn, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

● 171

Moral /Anthropophyteia, Yearbooks for Folkloristic Inquiries and Explorations into the Historical Development of Sexual Morality/, edited by Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss (1912), Vol. 9, p. 31.

833 777 Over against the great mass of women, the bebŏbăń, who through sexual intercourse bring the man misfortune, there is the exceptional phenomenon of the woman who among the Ntum is called ayūĕ' III and among the Fang avă. Union with her brings both parties, the woman as well as the man, good fortune. At the same time her influence is more important for the man, for instance, during military and hunting expeditions. If, for instance, the man goes hunting on the day after having had intercourse with such a woman, he is bound to see a wild animal soon and to kill it. If he goes to war, "his rifle will hit its mark," whereas the enemy's will not. For this eventuality, moreover, he has the woman give him a medicine, namely red wood that she has ground in a certain way (bā-ayă, nfumu-bā). The woman, too, is lucky on this day if she goes "hunting" for fish, that is, if she goes on a fish drive (a lŭk), or works on the farm (see Vol. I, p. 56).

But -- as was said -- such women who bring good fortune are a rarity; the majority of women bring misfortune. If a man goes hunting on the day after coition, all the animals evade him in a wide arc (a bă,ń), hence the name ebŏbăń.

[833] 785 984 831 In the peculiar custom of the miăk consecration I see proof of the fact that the Pangwe know the harmful effect of excessive sexual intercourse. The word miăk actually means the castrated animal, in particular the buck goat (see Vol. I, p. 76), and here it is applied symbolically to a person who through a public and solemn declaration is for a time excluded from sexual intercourse. After a successfully concluded war, more rarely upon some other occasion, somebody (usually the chief) decides to consecrate his son or his daughter to purity. Naturally, neither of the latter may as yet be acquainted with sexual matters, in other words, they will only be

785 554 831 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding; then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 785 [184] The custom of miǎk consecration was formerly practiced throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom [171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 789 556 831 [824] The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon [824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tĕge III, from a tĕk, "weak," because [833] the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon [825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

The Stone Game

524 Of all adult games, the most popular is the stone game which
[171] is spread over almost the entire world. It involves placing stones in a number of adjoining concavities, and then distributing these stones among the concavities according to definite rules.

In more recent times, according to informants, the stone game has come to the Jaunde and Bulu from the Bene (who in turn
[177] became acquainted with it through eastern tribes), and from the former it was introduced into the Ntum and Fang region around the years 1895-98. These statements appear to be confirmed by the fact that the most skillfully fashioned playing boards, provided with legs (as in Fig. 115), are to be found among the Jaunde and Bene. They have one of these in each meeting house and eagerly and frequently play with it. It is played more rarely by the Ntum
[184] and only very rarely by the Fang, who in any case have too many other, less harmless things in their heads to be able to devote themselves to the game with any kind of passion.

The playing board (Fig. 115) consists of two halved raffia leaf-stalks tied to each other. By cutting out the pith, each of the leaf-stalks is divided into seven compartments (ndǎ = house; plural, mandǎ). Only in the southern part of the Fang region (and among the
[184] Bassá) did I see such a board made of wood, which then, in most cases, had one additional compartment for the "prisoners" (Fig. 116) at each end. The playing stones (ngǒ́k IV) are put into the compartments, five in each one. Originally, and sometimes even today, actual pebbles were used, from which the game was named sṓngo (alleged: small pebble). This name, however, is current only among the Jaunde and Bene; in the south it designates the corresponding children's game, while that of the adults is called akŭ́n because of the large black beads (akŭ́n) that were at one time used as playing stones but today have gone completely out of fashion.
[824] Instead of these beads, the natives like to take the kernels of the
[194] oil palm or of Rhicinodendron /311/ africanum; in the north and in various other places they like to take the pebble-like kernels of a species of tree unknown to me and, more rarely, stones.

554 622 769 It should be noted, however, that pre-eminence "based on filiation," as Cureau puts it, is maintained without too much difficulty – being durable while power born of events is temporary – so long as the worship of ancestors by each clan fragment remains in force. Seniority determines this pre-eminence, justified and made effective by the possession of the basket containing the ancestors' skulls. This power of the "eldest," who is at the same time "first among his equals" and priest of the biéri cult organized within the cadre of "kinship," has not however allowed the implantation of effective chefferies comparable to those based on the same principles in the Ba-kongo country (2).

2. Cf., Third part of this work.

An early government report stressed the fact that one became chief, specifying that the nyamòrò (eldest) "became chief in his zone of influence when his fairness and the effectiveness of his power were recognized." (3) Thus neither the villages nor the

3. Customs regulating the attributes of chiefs and their designation in Rapport politique du Djouah [Political Report of Djouah], 1938.

localized clan fragments, nor still less the extended clan and the tribe, reveal the existence of a true hierarchy. We see the pre-eminence of the ésa (which may only be shown by some deferential attitudes) or the provisional pre-eminence of a man who has known how to expand his "zone-of influence."

554 622 [7] What are the reasons for such a situation? Taking as an example Ba-kongo, which will be studied later, one sees that the fundamental social relationship is that which exists between the ancestors (masters and guardians of the sod), the land, and the lineage; it implies necessary relations between related lineages and limits the mobility of groupings. There is nothing like this in the Fang country, where the relation with land has no such importance and the whole economy, until very recently, remained oriented toward warlike and economic conquest. Even in the

794 one – tends to re-establish this elementary order, it is a rein-
769 statement, a pledge of fertility and power. Apparently the Ngil
● [171] resembles a great many other "associations" that have existed in Gabon, especially the Mwiri of the Ngounié people. (2) It con-

2. Cf. A. Maclatchy, "Organisation sociale des populations de la region de Mimongo [Social Organization of the Peoples of the Mimongo Region]," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, I, I, 1945.

stitutes primarily an instrument of struggle against the sorcerers (böyêm), to the extent that they attempt to interfere with the normal order. But it is much more than that: it is the indication of a power superior to that based on kinship, a grouping with a great capacity for control (doubtless the most powerful).

794 The Fang have known other associations of men with specialized functions – or rather those that create "specialists," [535] such as the akûm, who directs the ceremonies linked with the male dance called makuma. The akûm, who appears also as a sort of chronicler-singer, intervening especially at the time of [847] funerals and affairs concerning fertility (search for the "sorcerer" responsible for an abortion that might result in permanent sterility, (3)

3. Cf. E. Trilles, op. cit., p. 79.

ceremonial intended to lift the incest which creates sterile marriages). The akûm in daily life is distinguished from the non-initiates by being subject to a number of special interdicts. He is a "respected, or rather a feared, person," for to him is attributed "great power." "In order to reach this situation he must have been [535 674] taught by another akûm; he must have learned the interminable songs that last a whole night long, and then with his own hand kill one of his close relatives...." (4) This brief description is

4. Father L. Martrou, "Les Éki

794

des Mfang [The Éki of the Fang]," Anthropos, Vol. 1, 1906.

interesting for the last point it brings up; it indicates a test, it shows above all with unquestionable brutality that all power existing outside the clan and the kinship is acquired only after making the more or less symbolic gesture of "killing the kinship." It is by the interplay of [145] such groupings that the logic of the system of kinship and of alliance by marriage is transcended.

"Associations" have a function whose import varies according to particular circumstances. They intervene to create a better cohesion between clan fragments, as is shown by the grouping of [171] initiates at the Bièri (Gabon cult) or at the Ssò (Cameroons cult known to the frontier villages); this at a time when insecurity demands a minimum of union among related villages. In other circumstances, they attempt to reinforce the inherent power of functions whose importance is affirmed: as in the case of groupings that controlled the ancient "dance of justice" (sòmana) at the time when peaceful settlement of conflicts remained the only one possible, and when the role of "peacemaker" was of primary importance. As is shown by the feminine "associations," they may also act as a curb on the domination to which a social group of inferior status is subjected. This is all the more marked as the decay of these groupings has been paralleled by the change in the relations between the sexes. We have pointed out, in connection with the Ngil, that "associations" have served as the mechanism for higher appeal for the purpose of pacification. We must now stress the fact that some of them assume an almost permanent role of opposition to the social order.

754 776 782 Such is the case of the "association" of men known as sorcerers (pl. bòyèm), who endeavor to acquire permanently, and in their own personal right, "wealth, strength, and power." Each one has been admitted in terms of an absolute differentiation — the possession of a "spirit" called évu(r) (1) which is physically distinguishable (1) — and with a special initiation, the latter entails the

1. Cf. H. Lavignotte, L'évur, Société

882 is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual, warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great 881 tribal initiation, sô. Sô is the name of a large red antelope, [825] Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in 262 the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez les Fang, although the sô seems to be one of the most important tribal totems. [17] It should be observed in this connection that the sô rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sô.

[114] Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935; the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the nkpwé sô (judge of the sô; lit., butcher of the sô), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point [181] of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The nkpwé sô did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mfek sô, "sô wise man" or "sô measurer" or "sô pouch," if the tone is changed (vek = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sô, awu sô, afterwards eaten

perpetrator. If necessary, the chief would take this upon himself. Such a case has sometimes occurred, according to certain legends.

The large bones are then again placed upon the pyre, for which the necessary wood has been carefully kept, because to cut or to add more is forbidden. When everything has been consumed, the bones and wood that are left in the form of cinders (1) are pulverized as finely as possible, and the chief

[137]

1. Éfirfira is a rather resinous wood, which burns up completely, leaving hardly any cinders.

scatters the powder on the recently covered grave of his father, accompanied by all the heads of family. The banana leaves that had been used to wrap up the victim are carefully folded into a bundle and thrown to the bottom of a spring or stream below the spot where water is usually drawn, so as to avoid profanation.

In contrast to all the other sacrifices, nothing must remain of this victim nor may anyone keep the slightest trace of it.

Before carrying the ashes of the sacrifice to his father's grave, the chief still has to go through another ceremony just as important, the rite of the spear.

The rite of the spear, or better of the assagais, a̋ume mékŏ̋n, the salute to the assagais, only occurs at the enthronement of tribal chiefs and then only if they have come of age, that is, have already been received as warriors bearing the marks or bawu.

b) The rite of the spear or the assagais. A̋ume mékŏ̋n.

From the other side of Africa, Father Van den Burgt, (1)

1. Dictionnaire français-rundi [French-Rundi Dictionary], article, "Kira̋na."

of the White Fathers, recently pointed out a curious rite among the Barundi, the rite of the spear, the emblem of Kira̋na, the

779 776 411 ●171

second high spirit. Among the Fan, we have found the same emblem, consecrated to the spirit Ki-ndâ̂na, he also being chief of the lower spirits, of material things, and thus master and chief of all beings on the earth. He is also invoked in time of war. This is the only information I have been able to obtain on the subject. But in comparing this fact with what we have seen among the Barundi, it certainly appears that a totemic rite is involved. Indeed among them, Imana, the Creator, is the lord of departed souls as, among the Fan, Nzame is also the Creator. Consequently he is foremost of all the ancestors and thus the keystone of the whole religious system. The Fan know this perfectly. When discussing genealogies I have already pointed out that a child or any warrior, when asked what his mébara is, will always end by invoking Nzame, saying: "And he (the first of the race) was created by Nzame, and before that I didn't belong to it, neither I nor anyone else." (Nge mur éto (the father of the race) Nzame émiɛn a nga bo ñe, ve 'sim ñi, mɛ̂ mbe dia ve, ve ma, ve muramure.)

Among the Barundi the great rite of the spear consists of homage rendered to the sacred spear of Kirâ̂ha, the higher spirit of the Rundi triad, Imana, Ri-Kiramba, and Riangombi. Among the Fan, Kindâ̂na does not belong to the divine triad, which they also recognize: Nzame, Mébere, Nkwa. Kindâ̂na, lit., victorious Power, is chief of all beings under Nzame, and considered only as the principle of the power that animates everything and that is self-perpetuating. He is the opposite of inert matter. [542]

"The neighboring Pygmies," writes Mgr. Le Roy (1) in

1. Op. cit., p. 314.

connection with this Rundi rite, "have the same ceremony, which they appear to have originated." Perhaps, however, we ought to go further back to the very beginnings of the race, since we find the ceremony also among the Fan.

Among the Barundi the rite of the spear takes place in all critical situations. The usual form of that spear has one white and one black facet and it is said to bear the spirit Kirâ̂ha on its

T19 T76 411 171 point. At the time of the ceremony the guardian of the spear appears with two assistants; he wears a sort of crown made of a panther skin, part of which hangs down his back. The participants form a semicircle around him, carrying small hollow calabashes filled with hard seeds (2) that rattle. Then a hymn is begun,

> 2. The seeds of the annata tree are used or, even more often, the round hard seeds of canna (canna spec.).

sung in an oddly impressive tone, deeply convincing and creating indescribable melancholy. During this evocation, each one picks up a bit of straw, bows down and presents it to the sacred spear, claps his hands together and asks the spirit dwelling on the spearhead for various favors. He then says: "To thee, Father, I make these demands, I offer my homage." Everyone then leaves the hut singing and goes to the resting place of the ancestral spirits.

T19 622 411 171 Among the Fan the salute to the spear thus takes place at the enthronement of the chief. After the victim has been divided and eaten, the chief rises and plants his assagai in the earth, point upwards; the point has been made to gleam by thorough careful burnishing. The choice of spear is not unimportant: it must have the totemic tribal emblem incised in its hollow and must have already "drunk" enemy blood. The spear is thus planted in the ground so far as possible just where the altar stood; shortly after, at its foot, the chief places his baldrick usually of leopard-skin, holding the materialized totem, the akamdyôô. [543]

Having done this, he circles around the spear, singing, then picks up the baldrick and hangs it upon the lance, which usually has several small sharp hooks at the base.

The chief again circles the spear, sings a hymn in honor of Kinghia, then stands still. All the others then go to fetch their boxes of ancestral skulls and circle around the spear, singing. As each man passes the chief, he bows, puts his box on the ground, and claps his hands.

At the end of the ceremony the chief removes the spear, puts back the baldrick at his side, and takes everything to his hut.

He then returns to collect the remains of the sacrifice and carry them to his father's grave.

It is evident that the Fan ritual of the spear salute has many analogies to the Rundi ritual, and the same impulse would seem to motivate both.

c) Rites of initiation and consecration of the chief compared with the religious role of the Pharaoh

In all this it is easy to see a whole embryonic system or rather, as our linguistic research bears out, the vestiges, very corrupt and gradually shriveling away, of a religious system that is very old and goes back to the very beginnings of the race.

The legends, customs, and especially the language make it possible for us to see, with all the reservations necessary to such a hypothesis, a pale reflection, perhaps a decadent reminder, of Egyptian religion.

It would be of great interest in the first place to try to find out if the Fan word denoting "chief," nzue -- from n for agency and zue, to command, to order -- is not related to Egyptian (1).

1. There are other resemblances between the two languages, to which I shall refer later: khe (Eg.), crown, and khu (Fg.), chief; khala, a fortified place, and dzal, fortified village (kraal); ka, to leave, and ka, to go away, etc.; ko, hook, and iko, hook, whence akôñ, hooked, barbed spear.

nza, to pray, adore, which was originally the chief's main function, or again to Suten, meaning "king," which comes from the word seten [544], to determine by knife, which means "to kill." The king is thus in theory he who slays the sacrificial victim, the sacrificer.

The Pharaoh formerly acted in a general way as a Fan chief still does today, without, one must admit, any of the trappings of majesty -- as I have said, he is a pale reflection.

He used to go himself, at least fictitiously, to capture the victim, a wild bull. He immolated it, cut it up, and offered it to the deity whose son he was. He was not only the sacrificer

174
171 who offers the victim but also the priest who alone was authorized to make an offering, and without his intervention, his subjects could not expect heaven to accept their offerings, even the most modest. "Suten don hotep" -- The king gives the offering, can be read on innumerable votive monuments, from the most imposing to the humblest. The deity would not pay attention to the offering if it did not come from the king. I recall the prince of Khéta's words which I have already quoted: "God would not accept any offering of Khéta that had not been seen by Pharaoh, the emanation of heaven."

Mediator between heaven and earth, Pharaoh alone is qualified to give to the Deity or to receive His gifts. If another priest takes his place, as for practical reasons nearly always happens, that priest will be acting as a delegate of the king and will announce the royal order by which he has access to God: "It is the king who sends me to see the deity," says he upon opening the gates of naos [sic]. Even a priest of the highest rank may present himself only by virtue of that delegation. To penetrate all the way to the temple sanctuary is in fact like penetrating heaven, (1) for the deity is there as much as in

1. An inscription at Edfou, quoted by Rochemonteix, reads: "He who penetrates the temple penetrates heaven."

heaven: to approach the deity one must be divine oneself, like a son of Pharaoh or at least a representative of this divine Son. God's house, the temple, was built by Pharaoh himself, (2) the

2. Virey: Religion de l'ancienne Égypte [The Religion of Ancient Egypt] (ed. 1909), p. 125.

sole owner of Egyptian soil by a divine gift made at his coronation. (3)

Cf. Lefébure, Rites Egyptiens [Egyptian Rites], where one will find numerous points of comparison with the rites I have mentioned. [545]

● 171 174 We find further confirmation of the foregoing in the following lines: "In archaic times, before the unification of Egypt into a single kingdom, it was no doubt the tribal chiefs who, as Pharaoh did later for the entire country, declared war, dispensed justice, and offered the sacrifices." (1)

1. The Life-Work of Sir Peter Le Page Renouf (Paris, 1902-07), Vol. 2, p. 351, "The Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization."

As religious leader the]Fan] tribal chief can thus delegate his authority only to the practitioner; as totemic chief, only to his direct consanguineal heir.

64 This is true to such a degree that if, for instance, the family should die out, the tribe would not come to an end or be destroyed, for the elders of the clan or of the mother tribe would trace genealogies back to the beginning or source of the race and find a secondary family related more closely to the founder of the race; that secondary family would in turn become the main lineage. This transfer comes about quite naturally, without hitch or conflict, merely by force of circumstances. In some cases, especially with a small clan, families will attach themselves to other clans; again, according to the formative law given earlier, new clans will be created, filials of the mother branch. If a mother clan is involved, then, on the contrary, families will attach themselves more willingly to the filial branch (branch in esa), where they will find the family totem (esamvɔ̀n, esamvɛ̀n, etc.).

d) Mistakes made by European administration in appointing new tribal chiefs from outside the main lineage

648 622 Clearly the chief mistake, and hence the lack of success, of civil administrators or military leaders who for one reason or another depose the legitimate chief of a tribe and appoint another is clear from the totemic laws just enumerated and the very structure of the race. I willingly admit that sometimes such depositions and appointments may, and often should be made,

VII. Ordeals

695 In ordeals (1) or judicial tests the appeal to the totem's

1. Ordeals, from the Anglo-Saxon ordaal [ordâl -dél], in modern German, Urteil, judgement.

intervention plays a fairly large part.

[77] These tests are very common in Bantu tribes; and we find the same thing on the other side of Africa, among the Jaluo at Kivûri.

The form of ordeal among these peoples is as follows and closely resembles that of the Fan. "A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little wimbi flour and a bit of 'medicine' are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty, if not, he is innocent.

"A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone would permit ordinarily of a leakage [I have emended an obvious misprint here, "bakage."--Translator] But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa [559] which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent.

"Dry flour is given to the suspected persons. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is able to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty." (1)

1. Sir Harry Johnston, op. cit., "The Jaluo."

The Fan often resort to ordeals, especially in the following circumstances: accusations of theft, adultery, murder, sorcery, "sins" against the clan or village totem. Without going into details, I shall point out merely the part played by the totem.

[Errata; should be "unable". — Analyst]

695 The following are some of the principal kinds:

694 A man is accused of murder. He will first have to be
672 seized; if that is impossible, it does not much matter. Since
619 members of the tribe stick together, another man will be
682 seized, no matter whom. If this cannot be done, the Fan may even take a man belonging to another tribe, who will be kept prisoner until his family and tribe, taking up the cudgels in their turn, capture either the culprit or a member of the culprit's tribe. One can see to what degree such solidarity may lead to retaliation.

695 Once a man has been caught, guilty or not, he undergoes
692 one of the following tests:

The dzimébilli is the eye ordeal. A person is brought before the chief, gagged and with his head pulled back. The practitioner takes a little pot made from the hard shell of a [278] small gourd called ngon, which is filled with a certain liquid consisting of vegetable poisons with an atropine base. The presumed culprit has the right -- and often takes advantage of it -- to require his own totem to be dipped in the liquid. The contents of the pot are then poured into his eye. If the eye stays in its socket, the man is innocent; if the eye is destroyed or raised out of the socket, he is guilty. (1) In the latter case

[271] 1. The same test occurs among the Bangala and Barundi.

he is immediately killed by a knife stroke. He may nevertheless ask to drink the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. This is often permitted.

A second and more generally used ordeal is the following, called mébdzim mé ne ayón, burning water. [561]

The practitioner boils water in a pot. When it comes to a boil, he throws in a wire ring, and the presumed culprit must retrieve it without burning himself; if his hand is injured, he is declared guilty, but if not, he is adjudged innocent and is dismissed. In such a case, the plaintiff himself is punished and must drink the test poison. The accused man has the right to

7: Trilles--109 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9
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p. 369 ff. [Annuaire de la Propagation de la Foi, Yearbook of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith].

of the ceremony and associated ritual.

The second condition is that the parties concerned be of different tribes and not have the same totem. This condition is essential and proceeds from the very nature of totemism.

The process of blood alliance or blood exchange is rather curious. Among the Fan it is as follows and is found in precisely the same form in several Congo tribes somewhat related to the Fan, like the Wabuyu of the Upper Congo.

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One of my mission colleagues recently described it thus: (1)

1. Bulletin des Pères Blancs d'Anvers [Bulletin of the White Fathers of Antwerp], n° de mai [May] 1910.

"In the evening there is a loud beating of drums; several rifle shots followed by shouts of joy announce a festival. Urged by curiosity, I went in the direction of the noise and discovered that two chiefs were to effect a blood exchange that day. They came forward solemnly . . . the participants crowded around and let out bloodcurdling howls. The protagonists solemnly sit down on special seats [668], face to face, with their knees touching. A white cloth is thrown over them, and the ceremony begins.

"The minister [practitioner] of one of the chiefs of the village where I am stationed takes a small thin knife and makes an incision in the leg of the foreign chief, while the latter's minister does the same to the village chief. Each one spreads on a leaf a paste that looks like butter, and simultaneously both ministers rub the two incisions. They keep exchanging the leaves so that their masters' blood is thoroughly mixed, the better to seal the mutual friendship.

"At the same time ivory horns are sounded and drums beat martial airs, rather unreasonably, it seems to me, at a 'peace conference.' The music arouses angry passions in the

7: Trilles--111 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9
Buye F015

B 608 G22 S35 songs celebrating the achievements of the tribe's forefathers and teaching contempt for death.

"Then comes the feast, from which women are strictly excluded."

F 609 G22 A ceremony identical to that of the Wabuyu is found among the Osêm Fan, which I have seen several times, and is almost the same among the Dzandzama and Bakélé.

F H1 It is rather strange to find almost the same customs among the most ancient peoples. For instance, Herodotus wrote of the Scythians: "This is how the Scythians used to take an oath: they would pour wine into a large earthenware cup, and the parties to the oath would add their blood from slight cuts made on their bodies with knife or sword; a boar-spear, an axe, and a lance would then be dipped into the cup. They then recited long prayers and drank from the cup. The leading members of the court would drink after them." (1)

1. Herodotus, Book IV, Ch. 70.

F 779 Blood alliance is the last general totemic rite that we have to deal with. Next come particular rites. The totem usually plays a far less important part in these than in general rites, and we shall therefore be much less concerned with them. [570]

Chapter XVI

The Totem in Fan Life: Particular Rites

Summary:

1. Birth.
2. Adoption.
3. Marriage.
4. Hunting, fishing, husbandry.
5. Trade and palavers.
6. Diseases and death. The funeral dance and the fanki.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled*.

Asu Mfasi : (Plantation).

Betete bese lesu be dia inifasi (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'ofun eto bi* (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). *Fañ l'esoge inifasi se be bidji biese* (Fañ likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, because there they get good food). *Bikon e djal ise, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Inifasi O se djal suse ofun bilé* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nsun asu ofun betete besge to bilé* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *E'esoge inifasi, se dai bidji biesé. Mo'nlué a gouri betyé : besk besge ada* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Mvudo inifasi sse vic bo alé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fañ, Be'djé asse nkim bidsse* (Fañ they eat a meal of cassava in the morning).

Regarding the *Bwiti* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Bwiti* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Ovando* of the Mpongwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured.

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten.

This town, named Olanda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nengo-nengo (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

776 idea as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* of the Fang, the *tate* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sekôme*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

[775] Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and 772 disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a 776 small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *bieny* is called the *Bieny Akomoyong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *nyengan* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new [535] moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *odzie* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

778 Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *nyengan* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feitiço, is *Bieny* (bonfitime). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *nyengan* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, bones, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins, [794] nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *nyengan* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the [824] person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this 769 paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which 770 constitute his or her *Ebi*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and [771] Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gaboon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also hold superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

A shukut nlem, he has a foolish heart.

A ngapi ngôle nû, he likes his own body (is conceited).

Asé dibi tyinebe mvus, this matter (palaver or quarrel) is pushed back (*i.e.*, is to be forgotten).

N'yen ngil, o'yen nsil, mâñ ekiga yen cambos, you see your grandson and your great-grandson, but you cannot see the next generation.

K'enge mo a lo wo mandi, go; your father calls you down the street (a hint to leave).

Anvag mvôñ du bâñ mvu, one rotten tooth spoils all (a person once caught lying cannot be trusted).

Mi ki mvus bad mayong mam, I am not sister's son to all tribes (*i.e.*, I am not everybody's servant).

Bjô mengo mvu ejima, another day is beautiful (like our saying "Every dog has his day").

Mim ban o'yen mvôñ, mvu mâñ mayen m'bvi, you can see a ghost once but a person twice.

Mim mis mvôñ m'bvi, mvu ngui nôñ evvôñ, you can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once (here the word *mis* is used for *Fang*).

Bi nda mvôñ, there is more than one day (my turn will come).

M'nôñ mengo, I am not a child.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. CHURCH, after acknowledging the value of Dr. Bennett's researches among a most interesting people, called attention to the similarities of the art of metallurgy to the dwarf race, which corresponded with European folk-belief. He dwelt on the respect paid to the Palaver House; he gathered that a fire was kept there perpetually burning, though the cult of the sacred fire seemed to have been forgotten. It would thus correspond to the early Aryan institution of the house where the sacred fire was tended, which survived in the Greek Prytaneum. The author of the paper seemed to have failed to appreciate the motive of the rites of passing widows through fire and flagellating them. Judging from the analogy of similar rites in India and elsewhere, the object was to free the woman from the ghost of her late husband, which was supposed to cling to and possess her.

Mr. FITZGERALD MARSHALL asked whether the witch-doctor who wore the white mask was a Bjôl, since in certain parts of West Africa the witch-doctor was independent of the tribal society, while in others he was a member. He also asked whether the dance, in which Dr. Bennett says is played the "Enlembong" (?) musical instrument made from an elephant's tusk, is in reality a species of secret society; for women and children are not allowed to see it, and it takes place by torch-light after dark. Then it might answer to the *Ero-gbo-to* of the Slave Coast, which is a species of police society for seeing that every one is in his house after 9 o'clock at night, or like the Ayuka society of a district near the Kwa. Its cries, which were that all the fires are out by a certain time. These societies also dance, sing and shout; therefore, as there is usually something beneath West African dances, it is probable that the players and dancers are a secret society or that there is some explanation for the existence of the dance. He also remarked

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

that the rules of the Ngi society, which Dr. Bennett had read them, were a great step to obtaining the secret ritual of the society. Dr. Bennett had mentioned various *fiats* or taboos peculiar to this society; Mr. MARRIOTT said that these were to be found in most secret societies. For instance, in the Kofila(g) of the little-known Limba tribe of Sierra Leone, one of the taboos was that of sitting on an axe, or other sharp instrument; another prohibition was that of allowing any one to hold a glowing firebrand to their face. These actions were tabooed because they were included in the ceremony of initiation. He knew other instances, and therefore he concluded that the taboos mentioned by Dr. Bennett were probably actions that formed part of the ritual of initiation or progression in the secret grades.

ORDINARY MEETING.

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MAY 30TH, 1899.

C. H. READ, Esq., F.S.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and passed.

List of books lately presented to the Institute was read, and the thanks of the Meeting was expressed. Mr. Ling Roth's *Aborigines of Tasmania* was mentioned more especially.

Elections of RICHARD J. A. BERRY, Esq., and F. SWYNNERTON, Esq., as Fellows of the Institute, were announced.

The PRESIDENT then introduced Colonel R. C. TEMPLE, who proceeded to read his paper, "On the Beginnings of Currency," which was well illustrated by lantern slides. He also exhibited a valuable collection of Agri beads.

Discussion was carried on by the PRESIDENT, Professor RIDGWAY, and Mr. GOWLAND, the latter exhibiting a collection of Japanese currency in support of Colonel Temple's views.

After a short reply from Colonel TEMPLE, the evening closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.